## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR,US

SUBJECT: THREE SOVIET LEADERS' SPEECHES STRONG ON DETENTE

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. SUMMARY, IN SPEECHES JANUARY 28 THREE SOVIET LEADERS--IDEOLOGIST PONOMAREV, TRADE UNION CHIEF SHELEPIN, AND DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO--REASSERTED THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE WITH THE WEST, EACH SPEAKER DEVELOPED HIS ARGUMENT IN TERMS OF HIS PARTICULAR CONSTITUENCY. PONOMAREV, IN PRAISING DETENTE--WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT-ALSO DWELT ON THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM. THE DANGERS OF A FASCIST REVIVAL, AND THE NEED FOR A NEW COMMUNIST STRATEGY TO ADJUST TO THE CHANGES IN THE WORLD. (PONOMAREV'S REMARKS ON CHINA WILL BE TREATED IN A SEPTEL.) SHELEPIN, APPARENTLY RESPONDING IN PART TO WESTERN EURPEAN LEFTWING CONCERN THAT DETENTE IS HELPING CAPITALISM, TOOK PAINS TO ARGUE THAT DETENTE IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES. AND GRECHKO, WHILE EXTOLLING THE BENEFITS OF THE SOVIET PEACE PROGRAM, CONTENDED THAT IMPERIALISM IS STILL A DANGEROUS FOE AND THAT SOME CIRCLES ARE TRYING TO USE THE CONDITIONS OF DETENTE FOR IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION. THE THREE SPEECHES ASSUME AN IMPORTANCE FROM THE FACT THAT THEY ARE THE FIRST SOVIET LEADERSHIP STATEMENTS SINCE THE TRADE ACT REJECTION. PONOMAREV'S IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT, SINCE HE CLEARLY WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-SOVIET TIES END SUMMARY.

2. CPSU PARTY SECRETARY PONOMAREV, SPEAKING BEFORE THE ALL-ARMY CONFERENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORKERS (THE MOST DETAILED SUMMARY OF HIS SPEECH IS IN RED STAR JAN 29), STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAKING DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE. HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO BREZHNEV'S MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE FRG, THE U.S., AND FRANCE, AND HE EMPHASIZED THE GENERAL VALUE OF SOVIET CONTACTS WITH CAPITALIST STATES. HE SINGLED OUT THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING FOR SPECIAL MENTION,/ SAYING THAT IT IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR SETTING ANOTHER BARRIER IN THE PATH OF THE ARMS RACE. MOVING TO THE USSR'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITH THE U.S., PONOMAREV TOOK POSITIVE NOTE OF RECENT STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROBLEMS, THE U.S. WANTED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, CONTINUED PONOMAREV, RETAINS ALL ITS IMPORTANCE. HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT AN "INFULENTIAL PART" OF U.S. SOCIETY COULD UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE TRADE ACT. AND THAT THE ACT HAD BEEN SHARPLY CRITICIZED.

3. PONOMAREV THEN DEVELOPED THEMES FAMILIAR TO READERS

OF HIS RECENT SPEECHES IN WARSAW AND BUDAPEST. HE SAID THAT THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM WAS LEADING TO AN INTENSIFICATION OF CLASS WAR, TO AN INTERNECINE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE CAPITALIST WORLD. AND TO THE DANGER OF A REVIVAL OF FACISM. HE SET FOUR TASKS FOR THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: (1) TO DEVELOP A NEW STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR THE PERIOD OF DETENTE; (2) TO DEVELOP A POLICY IN RESPONSE TO THE "CRISIS OF CAPITALISM" "WHICH WOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALL POSSIBLE TURNS OF EVENTS, PROVIDE A TIMELY ORIENTATION OF THE POPULAR MASSES. AND ASSURE THEIR EFFECTIVE MOBILIZATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR INTERESTS"; (3) TO PROMOTE THE UNITY OF ALLDEMOCRATIC FORCES; AND (4) TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DANGER OF FACISM. IN FAMILIAR TERMS PONOMAREV CITED PORTUGAL AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR "DEMOCRATIC FORCES" IN CONDITIONS OF DETENTE. FINALLY, HE SPOKE FAVORABLY OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE AND NOTED THAT IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT CONSIDERATION IS CONTINUING OF THE IDEA OF A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. NOWHERE IN THE PUBLISHED SUMMARY DID PONOMAREV SUGGEST THAT THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT SHOULD TAKE ACTION TO WORSEN CAPITALISM'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

4. SHELEPIN'S SPEECH IN EAST BERLIN TO THE WORLD
FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (SUMMARIZED IN TRUD JAN 29)
AMOUNTED TO A STONG DEFENSE OF SOVIET DETENTE POLICY
AGAINST UNNAMED CRITICS WHO CHARGE THAT IT IS HELPING CAPITALISM
AND HURTING SOCIALISM. SHELEPIN CLAIMED THAT DETENTE
SUCCESSES HAD MADE IT HARDER FOR IMPERIALIST CIRCLES
TO TURN TO AGGRESSION AS A WAY OUT OF THEIR ECONOMIC
CRISIS. HE CHARGED THAT THOSE IN THE WEST WHO ATTACK
EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION ARE SIMPLY TRYING TO
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FIND SCAPEGOATS FOR THEIR OWN ECONOMIC TROUBLES. SHELEPIN THEN TOOK THE OCCASION TO SAY THAT THE USSR FIRMLY REJECTS ANY ATTEMPTS BY CAPITALIST "STATES AND MONOPOLIES" TO USE ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN ORDER TO INTERFERE IN THE USSR'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS; IN THIS CONTEXT HE REFERRED DIRECTLY TO THE "DISCRIMINATORY" TRADE ACT PASSED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS.

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